



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE CANADIAN-FRENCH DIALECT
of Granby, Province of Quebec.

II. PHONETICS.

THE individual upon whose speech these notes on phonetics are based is the same from whom the information contained in my previous article (MOD. LANG. NOTES, January, 1892, cols. 24-27) was derived. In addition to the authorities therein referred to, I shall have occasion to cite from the valuable paper of Prof. E. S. Sheldon, dealing with a Canadian-French Dialect of Maine,¹ a copy of which I owe to the courtesy of the author.

The principal phonetic peculiarities, which coincide in great part with those of the dialect of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, as studied by Prof. Squair, are:

VOWELS.

1. French $a=\hat{a}$ (sound of *aw* in English *law*, or very close to that sound) in the following: *a* (in *il a*), *abre* (= *arbre*, tree), *acheter*, *barre*, *bas*, *bras*, *brassée ça*, *cadre*, *canard*, *cas*, *cas-sette*, *chat*, *classe*, *delicat*, *état*, *galendar*, *Gatineau*, *gaz*, *lard*, *liard*, *plat*, *potasse*, *rat*, *ravage*, *sab[le]*, *savage* (=French *sauvage*), *savane*, *smart* (borrowed from English *smart*), *soupane*, *tabac*, *talle*, *tassage*, *va*, etc.

Prof. Squair, for the Ste. Anne de Beaupré dialect, gives the *a* of *cadre* the sound of *au* in French *chaud*. To the *a* of *canard*, *classe*, *lard*, *sable*, the same remark applies.

2. French $a=\text{æ}$ (sound of *a* in English *hat*) in the following: *aller*, *argent*, *battre*, *café*, *cage* (in the derivatives *cageux*, *encager*, etc.), *chapeau*, *dame*, *érable*, *fable*, *face*, *garde*, *grave*, *jardin*, *patate*, *savage*, etc.

3. French $a=o$ (sound of *o* in English *nor* very nearly) in the following: *amarrer*, *mars* (*s* silent). Prof. Squair, for Ste. Anne de Beaupré, gives a *a* in *mars=au* in French *chaud*.

4. French $\hat{a}=\hat{a}$ (sound of *aw* in English *law*) in the following: *déjà*, *là*.

5. French $\hat{a}=\hat{a}$ (sound of *aw* in English *law*) in the following: *âge*, *âme*, *appât*, *gâteau*, *gâter*, *lâche*, *châtiment*. For Ste. Anne de Beaupré, according to Prof. Squair, the *â* in

¹ "Some specimens of a Canadian-French Dialect spoken in Maine." Deprinted from *Transactions and Proceedings of the MOD. LANG. ASSO. OF AMERICA*, Vol. iii, 1887. 8vo, pp. 8.

âge, *âme*, *lâche* is like the *au* of French *chaud*, and the *â* of *châtiment* like *a* in English *hat*. The tendency of the Ste. Anne de Beaupré dialect to approach this *â* to *au* (the sound of *ou* in English *house*), characterises also that of Granby.

6. French $a=E$ (sound of *e* in English *flower*) in: *papa*, *mama*, *patate*.

7. French $ai=e$ (sound of *è* in French *très*) in the following: *aigle*, *aile*, *faible*, *graine*, *maison*, *traite*.

8. French $ai=a$ (sound of *a* in English *father*) nearly, in the following: *anglais*, *avais*, *fait*, *balai*, *délai*, *frais*, *maïs*, *mauvais*, *vrai*, etc.

9. French $a=e$ (sound rather shorter than *e* in English *met*) in the following: *cadenas*.

10. French $ai=\hat{e}$ (sound of *é* in French *été*) in the following: *anglaise*, *chaise*, *crainte*, *fraïse*, *graisse*, *mai*, *plaise*, *mauvaise*.

11. French $ai=e$ (nearly *e* of English *met*) in the following: *lait* (*t* sounded).

12. French $ai=\hat{a}$ (sound of *aw* in English *law*) in the following: *baissière*.

13. French *ail*, *aïlle*= \hat{a} (sound of *aw* in English *law*)+French *il*, *ille*, in the following: *bataille*, *muraille*, *paille*, *volaille*. In *gaillard*, *médaille*, *travail*, the sound of *ail*, *aïlle* is not so sharp as in French, having a tendency to run into the \hat{a} +French *il* sound.

14. French $ai=\text{French } \hat{e}$ in *été*, in the following: *ainé*, *chaîne*, *connaître*, *fraiche*, *maître*, *naître*, *traîne*, *traître*, etc.

15. French *au* in *taupin=a* in *father*.

1. French $e=\hat{e}$ in French *très* in the following: *accepter*, *avec*, *bref*, *chef*, *ciel*, *messe*, etc.

2. French $\hat{e}=\hat{e}$ in French *très* in the following: *arrêter*, *baptême*, *bête*, *dépêche*, *être*, *extrême*, *mêler*, *même*, *pêcher*, *rêver*, etc.

3. French $e=a$ (sound of English *a* in *father*) in the following: *auberge*, *averse*, *avertir*, *berceau*, *berceuse*, *bercer*, *cercle*, *certain*, *cerveau*, *chercher*, *cierge*, *clergé*, *conserver*, *converte*, *divertir*, *désert*, *ferme*, *fermer*, *gerbe*, *herbe*, *merci*, *Mercier*, *pêcher*, *perdre*, *perdrix*, *perle*, *perte*, *serment*, *serpent*, *servit*, *terme*, *traverser*, *verbe*, *vertu*, *vierge*, etc.

4. French $\hat{e}=a$ (sound of *a* in English *father*) in the following: *apprès*.

5. *eu*=French *in* (sometimes) in the following: *argent*, *vent*, *dent*.

6. French *é*=*i*, in *criature*.

7. *elle* (she)=*a*.

8. French *ein*=*an*; in *teinte* (pronounced almost as French *tante*).

9. French *ei*=*è* (of French *très*+*e* of English *met*) in the following: *peine*, *reine*.

In these words *ei* sometimes=*e* in English *met*+*e* in English *met*. For Ste. Anne de Beaupré, Prof. Squair states that in *reine* and *teinte*, *ei* is a true diphthong, and in *peine* and *reine* it is pronounced *è* in French *très*.

10. *ev* in *cheval* has almost the sound of *o* in English *not*, the word being pronounced nearly *joal*, or *jwal*, *joual*.

11. *e* in *grenier* has almost the sound of *i* in *pique*.

1. French *i*=*i* (sound of the *i* in English *pin*) in the following: *babiche*, *canif*, *cuisine*, *égoïne*, *fiche*, *mocasine*, *prodigue*.

2. French *i*=*ī* (as in *pique*)+*y*, in the following: *triyer* (=French *trier*).

Compare the *tyi* for *tī* mentioned below.

THE DIAGRAPH *oi* (*y*) HAS THE SOUNDS:

1. English *w*+*ā* (sound of *aw* in English *law*) in the following: *bois*, *mois*, *poids*, *pois*, *trois*.

Prof. Squair, for Ste. Anne de Beaupré, gives *oi* in these and like words the sound of *ou* in French *oui*+*a* in English *father*.

2. *è* in French *très* in the following: *droit*, *étroit*, *froid*. For Ste. Anne de Beaupré, Prof. Squair gives *oi* in *droit*=French *ou* (in *oui*)+*e* (in *très*).

3. English *ō* in *bone*+*ā* (sound of *aw* in English *law*) in the following: *noix*, *oie*.

4. French *eu* (in *eux*)+*a* (sound of *a* in English *father*) in the following: *loi*.

5. English *e* in *met*+*y*, in the following: *envoyer*, *renvoyer*, *voyage*, *voyager*. For Ste. Anne de Beaupré, Prof. Squair gives the *oy*=*oa* of French *oui*+*a* in English *father*. Prof. Sheldon wrote *wèd zahé*, with French *è*.

6. English *w*+*e* in French *été* in the following: *avoir*, *boire*, *coiffer*, *cloison*, *espoir*, *gloire*, *mémoire*, *miroir*, *moi*, *mouchoir*, *noir*, *oiseau*, *poire*, *poisson*, *poivre*, *toi*, *toison*, *victoire*, etc.

7. *w*+*e* (very short, of English *met*) in the following: *avoine* [avwen], *bellois* [belwe].

o+*i* in *égoïne*, has the sound of English *w*+short *i* of English *pin*.

on=*ō* with scarcely any nasality. The same remark applies sometimes to *un* [œn], *in* [in], *en* [en].

ou has almost the sound of *e* in English *her* in the following: *bourbotte*.

ouille in *grenouille* has a sound between the sounds that *oyeu* and *euil* have in French.

une (fem. artic. indef.)=α*n*.

cui in *cuisine* has almost the sound of *cu* in English *curious*; almost *kyúsin*.

ui in *suis* has the sound of *u* in English *curious* [cyù, c=Engl. sh].

ueu in *guéule*=almost *y*+*E* (sound of *e* in English *flower*).

u in *venu*=*ü* (German) and sometimes *i* in *pique*.

CONSONANTS.

1. The *b* of French *houblon* (French-Canadian *omnon*) becomes *m*. This change has been noted by Prof. Squair for the dialect of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, and was well-known to my informant.

2. *c*, silent in direct; *tc* (approximately the *ch* of English *church*) in *cire*; *g*, in *canif* (*i* quite short); *t* (sometimes *k*) in *aucun* (pronounced as would be *otien* or *oquien* in French).

3. *ch*=French *j* (in *jour*) in *cheval* (pronounced almost *jūal* or *jōal*).

4. *d*=*t* in the following: *cadre*, *froid*, *droit*; *l* in *cadenas* (pronounced *calna* or *calnè*); *dj* (sound of *g* in English *gem*), in the following: *dire*, *dit*, *dur*, etc.; *dy* in *verdir*=*vardyr*.

5. *d* intercalated in *genre*.

6. *l*=*r* in *cloison* (pronounced *crûēzō*). Sometimes the *r* is silent in this word; *l* silent in *il*; =*n* in *omelette*, *houblon* (omnon).

7. *qu*=*ky* in the following: *quinze*, *cinquante*, *quintau*, *quel*.

8. *n*=*gn* in *crigne*, *crignière*.

9. *r*, silent in *arbre*, *croître*, *mercredi*, *surmartre* (sometimes in *trois*, *siffleur* [woodchuck]), *cadre*, *tourtire*, *brayeur*.

10. *rn*=*nr* in *comprenais*, *grenouille* (pronounced between the sounds which *geurnoyeu* and *geurneuil* would have in French).

11. *s*, silent in *mars*.

12. *t*, silent in *direct*, silent (sometimes) in

smart, trente-deux ans. Heard in lait (sound-
ed like English *let*), and lit (bid). *k* in patate,
ami*ti*é; *tc* (nearly *ch* in English *church*) before
i in the following: parti, petit, *titi*, tire, bou-
tique; *ty* in the following: tignasse, *tu*; in-
serted euphonically in the following phrases:

bœn gro[s]-t-arbre; je suis-t-allège.

13. *v=w* in envoyer, renvoyer, voyager, pro-
nounced êwéyê, rêwéyê, wêažê.

14. *gu=gy* in gueule (pronounced nearly
gyEl (E=nearly the *e* in flower)).

A. F. CHAMBERLAIN.

Clark University.

"THE ÉVANGILE AUX FEMMES."*

THIS poem has been the subject of some little
discussion among Romance scholars of late
years; the poem is a well-known one, a fact
which is evinced by the frequent references to
it which one finds. The most important liter-
ature on the subject is as follows:

1. Marie de Compiègne d'après L'Évangile
aux Femmes. Par M. Constans. Paris, Vie-
weg, 1876 [Extrait du Tome iii du Bulletin de
la Société historique de Compiègne.] 8vo. 86
pp.

2. Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, i,
pp. 337-356; Ed. Mall, Noch einmal: Marie de
Compiègne und das "Évangile aux femmes."

3. In the same journal, viii, pp. 24-36; L.
Constans, "L'Évangile aux femmes."

4. In the same journal viii, pp. 449-455;
Ed. Mall, "Zum sogenannten Évangile aux
femmes."

At first, the point under discussion was
whether Marie de Compiègne was identical
with Marie de France, the celebrated Anglo-
Norman poetess. When this had been decided
in the negative, the question of interpolations
came into prominence; this hinged chiefly on
the relative value to be assigned to each of the
seven MSS. which contained the poem. This
is a matter which has never been settled, as it
is a very complicated one, owing to the strange
way in which the testimony of the various
MSS. disagrees.

It is indeed a knotty problem, that of the

*Abstract of a paper read before the Johns Hopkins Uni-
versity Philological Association, Nov. 18, 1892.

relations existing among the MSS. Constans
(in No. 1 above) came to the conclusion that
very little could be asserted in regard to it.
Mall (in No. 2) divided the MSS.—he knew of
only four at that time—into two families; of
these he considered the Isle-de-France family
to be the original one, from which the Picard
family had been derived later. He posits
seven lost MSS., besides admitting one case of
crossing.

Constans, having discovered two new MSS.,
rejected (in No. 3) Mall's scheme and replaced
it by a very elaborate one, in which he posits
fourteen lost MSS. and admits four cases of
crossing.

But Mall (in No. 4) rejects this scheme as
almost wholly fanciful, not to say contradictory.
He merely modifies his former scheme *slight-ly*,
positing seven lost MSS. as before. Lastly,
there has been discovered a new MS.

When these various schemes were tested by
means of the collations of three of the MSS.
together with the already published texts, it
was found that none of them were at all satis-
factory. By means of a rough table of corre-
sponding quatrains, the MSS. are readily di-
vided into four distinct groups to begin with.
With the aid of a much more accurate table of
line correspondences, we are enabled greatly
to improve this rudimentary scheme. For this
purpose it is necessary to divide the MSS. into
three groups of contemporaries; the object of
this being that one may be reasonably sure
that a MS. of an earlier group was not copied
from one of a later group, while within a group
no such discrimination is to be made. Now
by examining in which MSS. a certain line
occurs, such additions to the scheme are made
as will account for the presence of that par-
ticular line in each of the MSS. where it is
found. By this means we have introduced five
lost MSS. into the scheme, and three cases of
crossing are admitted.

Our next resource is the investigation of the
word variants, many of which are crucial
tests. Following here the same general plan
as before, we arrive (being further aided by a
few general arguments drawn from the char-
acter of certain of the MSS.) at our final MS.
scheme of seven known MSS., eight posited
ones and three cases of crossing.